LIVELIHOODS AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES: A CASE STUDY OF KODAGU DISTRICT

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1.1. Introduction

Scheduled Tribe (ST) population constitute 8.61% of the total population of the country, numbering 104.28 million and cover about 15% of the country's area (2011 Census). Out of their total population in the country, 91.7 per cent were living in rural areas, whereas, only 8.3 per cent from urban areas. They generally live in remote forest areas mainly forests, hills and inaccessible areas and speak a different language. Areas inhabited by ST groups tend to be rich in natural and mineral resources. Among social groups, STs are the most marginalized groups with respect to social, economic and participatory indicators. Even after 66 years of independence and initiation of welfare/developmental programmes under various plan periods, STs suffer disproportionally higher rate of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and landlessness. The Planning Commission in its latest report (March, 2012) revealed that the Scheduled Tribes face the highest level of poverty at 47.4 per cent, followed by Scheduled Castes at 42.3 per cent and Other Backward Castes at 31.9 per cent as against 33.8 per cent for all classes in rural India. Socio-economic status of STs in India has been drawing attention of the practitioners of social science for long, often being recognized as a deprived community.

There are over 700 STs notified under Article 342 of the Constitution of India, spread over different States and Union Territories of the country. Out of the total ST population, 2.59 million (3.07 per cent) belong to Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) earlier referred to as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). Seventy-five of the 700 Scheduled Tribes in the country spread across 17 States/UTs are identified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) considering they are more backward (Planning Commission, 2013). The main idea behind the list of primitive tribes is that these communities demand special attention from the state because they lag far behind the other STs in

the indices of development. They are “more vulnerable to hunger, starvation, malnutrition, and ill health.

1.2. Demographic Status of ST Population in India

The Scheduled Tribes are notified in 30 States/UTs and the number of individual ethnic groups, etc. notified as Scheduled Tribes is 705. They are called as primitive tribes, indigenous, aboriginal and adivasis. The decadal population growth of the tribal’s from Census 2001 to 2011 has been 23.66% against the 17.69% of the entire population (Government of India, 2013). Broadly the STs inhabit two distinct geographical area – the Central India and the North- Eastern Area. More than half of the Scheduled Tribe population is concentrated in Central India. Article 366 (25) of the Constitution of India refers to Scheduled Tribes as those communities, who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution. This Article says that only those communities who have been declared as such by the President through an initial public notification or through a subsequent amending Act of Parliament will be considered to be Scheduled Tribes. The list of Scheduled Tribes is State/UT specific and a community declared as a Scheduled Tribe in a State need not be so in another State/UT. The essential characteristics, first laid down by the Lokur Committee, for a community to be identified as Scheduled Tribes are; indications of primitive traits; distinctive culture; shyness of contact with the community at large; geographical isolation; and backwardness.

The main concentration of tribal population is in central India and in the North-eastern States. However, they have their presence in all States and Union Territories except Hayrana, Punjab, Delhi, Pondicherry and Chandigarh. The proportion of the Scheduled Tribes to the total population of the States/Union territories is highest in Mizoram (94.5 per cent) and Lakshadweep (94.5 per cent) followed by Nagaland (89.1 per cent), Meghalaya (85.9 per cent). Within the major states Chhattisgarh (31.8 per cent) has the highest percentage of Scheduled Tribes population followed by Jharkhand (26.3 per cent) and Orissa (22.1 per cent). These proportions are in the lowest

in Uttar Pradesh (0.1 per cent), Bihar (0.9 per cent), Tamil Nadu (1.0 per cent) and Kerala (1.1per cent). Madhya Pradesh accounts for the highest percentage of Scheduled Tribes population to total STs population of the country (14.5 percent) followed by Maharashtra (10.2 per cent), Orissa (9.7 per cent), Gujarat (8.9 per cent), Rajasthan (8.4 per cent), Jharkhand (8.4 per cent) and Chhattisgarh (7.8 per cent). In fact, 68 per cent of the country's Scheduled Tribes population lives in these seven States. There are smaller numbers of tribal people in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala in south India; in western India in Gujarat and Rajasthan, and in the union territories of Lakshadweep and the Andaman Islands and Nicobar Islands. About one percent of the populations of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are tribal, whereas about six percent in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are members of tribes.

1.3. Livelihoods of Tribal Community

The tribal communities represent an important social category of Indian Social Structure. The tribes are said to be the original inhabitants of India. A number of groups are still primitive stage and they are very often referred to in the language of the connotation as "Scheduled Tribes". To the ordinary man the word suggest simple folk living in hills and forests. Tribal population is ethnic in composition, smallerin size having subsistence economy based on forest, daily wages, attached labourers and shifting cultivation. Since immemorial, tribal living has passed through different stages under influence of natural and ethnic factors. The genesis of tribal livelihood may be traced back from hunting and forest based livelihood (Singh and Sadangi, 2012).

The tribal population is identified as the aboriginal inhabitants of our country. They are most vulnerable section of our society living in natural and unpolluted surrounding far away from civilization with their traditional values, customs and beliefs. There has been a long and enduring debate among the social scientists to define a tribe. They have a fascinating way of life. The tribes generally have a group of families living together. These groups have prehistoric economy, with several rituals and customs. Certain tribal languages have no script except speech. They live in interior forest areas far away from the civilized world. They have slash burn cultivation and hunting

of the wild animals as the way of life. They have a common religion, common customs and live as a community. In general tribes are of peculiar type of people living all over the world. Agriculture is the prime and predominant occupation of tribes and the culture of the tribal communities is reflected in their agricultural practices. Around 90% of tribe's populations in India were depending on land directly or indirectly for their survival (Verma 1995). The agro-climatic conditions and the resource potentialities differ from one tribal area to another. This is due to the nature of soil, fertility, availability of water etc. Due to prevalence of unemployment and underemployment, agriculture alone cannot sustain them throughout the year. So the tribes must rely on labour works and the forest produce which occupies and play an important role in their daily life. Hence the tribal economy may rightly be called as "Agro forest based economy".

1.4. Social Exclusion of Scheduled Tribes

The term social inclusion was originated in French social policy in the 1970s. It came into play in the 1980s economic crisis (Benn, 2000) when state sponsored republican tradition of solidarity was in vogue (Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997). The concept of social exclusion clearly draws distinction between group exclusion from that of exclusion of an individual or group (Buvinic, 2005; Thorat 2009). The term 'social exclusion' is ambiguous and contested. Definitions range from little more than a re-naming of poverty (Burchardt et al. 1999) to more broad based concepts based on a lack of, or inability to participate in society. Rodgers (1995) visualized exclusions which include, 'exclusion from goods and services', 'labour market exclusions', 'exclusions from land' and 'exclusion from security'. Social exclusion mainly refers to the inability of our society to keep all groups and individuals within reach of what we expect as society to realize their full potential. Marginalization of certain groups or classes occurs in most societies including developed countries and perhaps it is more pronounced in underdeveloped countries. Based on the literature we can define "*Social exclusion is the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live.*"

Thus, in totality, social exclusion denotes the following characteristics of a society at large or individuals at least. i) Inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life. ii) Distance and alienation from a so called mainstream society. iii) Isolation from major societal mechanisms which produce or distribute social resources. The STs have these features and considered most valnurable groups in India.

The tribal communities from whom this land is alienated are thus deprived of all their livelihood because most of them live in a natural resource based informal economy that depends on the one hand on agriculture, both settled on the other on the non-timber forest (NTFP) such as medicinal herbs, edible flowers, leaves and fruits. They also get their small timber and firewood from the forest. Hence development is bound to affect their agricultural and forest land which is the primary source of their livelihood. The development process pushes them from an informal to a formal economy that is new to them without any preparation. They had depended on agricultural land and forests, both of which they lose to the project. When they receive compensation it is monetary with which most communities living in the informal economy are not familiar. As mentioned above in most cases the CPRs are not compensated.

1.5. Government Policy and Strategies for Tribal Development

Since independence Government of India and Government of various states have taken lots of initiation for development of tribal livelihoods. Lots of programmes are implemented for sustaining their livelihoods. The development policy for the tribals has changed its strategy continuously in search of sustainability. The social scientists have laid emphasis on the importance of cultural fabric of the tribal world to accelerate this process (Upadhyay, 2000). The social and economic conditions of the people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes have been the concern of Indian political and social movements in pre-independent India. Indeed to Gandhiji, the father of the Nation, freedom was not a mere political objective but the of raising the mass of people from poverty and degradation. The mainstream political and social

movements, which were profoundly influenced by Gandhian approach, emphasised the imperative need to transform the Scheduled Tribes.

Soon after Independence, the basic principles for the development of the Scheduled Tribes were clearly enunciated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Independent India, in the form of five principles known as 'Tribal Panchasheel', which was later endorsed by the Renuka Roy team (1959), Dhebar Commission (1961) and Shilu Ao Committee (1969). Starting from the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks of 1956, the measures taken for development of Scheduled Tribes are multifarious. The creation of separate Tribal Development Blocks in the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) and of a Tribal Sub-plan (TSP) within the State plan in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79), and formation of the Large-scale Multipurpose Cooperative Societies (LAMPS), Tribal Development Agencies, Integrated Tribal development Area Projects (ITDA), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), Micro Projects for Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) reflected the course of tribal development administration in the country. A Variety of approaches and strategies like top-down approach, regional planning, target group approach, integrated development, participatory development, Joint Forest Management, watershed Management, and poverty alleviation programmes have formed part of the development approach.

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is the nodal Ministry for the overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes for the development of the Scheduled Tribes (STs). The programmes and schemes of the Ministry are intended to support and supplement, through financial assistance, the efforts of other Central Ministries, the State Governments and voluntary organizations, and to fill critical gaps taking into account the needs of ST. Though the primary responsibility for promotion of interests of Scheduled Tribes rests with all the Central Ministries, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs complements their efforts by way of various developmental interventions in critical sectors through specially tailored schemes. These schemes which are for the economic, educational and social development of STs.

Since most of the tribal habitations are located in isolated villages and hamlets in undulating plateau lands coinciding with forest areas, they have limited access to critical infrastructure facilities such as roads, communication, health, education, electricity, drinking water and so on. This widens the gap between the quality of their life and the people in the country.

Education Development: Education continued to receive high priority in the Eleventh Plan to facilitate educational development among STs by providing educational facilities, incentives and support especially focusing the ST girls. The Post Matric Scholarship Scheme for ST Children is a centrally sponsored scheme providing financial assistance to the Scheduled Tribe students pursuing higher education beyond matriculation levels. The scholarships are awarded through the Government of the State/Union Territory where he/ she is domiciled and 100 per cent Central assistance is provided to States/UTs over and above their committed liability. For North-East States committed liability is not applicable. The Scheme was revised in December, 2010. The income ceiling of parents for their children availing the scholarship has been raised from Rs. 1.00 lakh per annum to Rs. 2.00 Lakh. The Commercial Pilot License Course (CPL) is also included in the scheme and 10 Scholarships are to be given to the eligible ST students per year.

Hostels for ST Girls/Boys: The objective of the scheme is to facilitate ST students to continue their studies at distant places by extending hostel facilities to those who were otherwise unable to continue their studies due to remote location of their villages. The Eleventh Plan allocation for the hostels scheme was Rs.272.96 crore. The scheme was revised on 1 April 2005 to provide 100 per cent funding for construction of hostels for both boys and girls in left wing extremism affected areas.

Upgradation of Merit of ST Students: The objective of the scheme, which functions under the umbrella of the Post Matric Scholarship Studies, is to upgrade the merit of Scheduled Tribe students including PVTG students in classes IX to XII by providing them with facilities for all round development

through education in residential schools so that they can compete with other students for admission to higher education courses and for senior administrative and technical occupations. The Scheme was revised with effect from the financial year 2008–09. Under the Scheme, 100 per cent financial assistance is provided to the States and UTs for implementation of the scheme. A revised package grant of Rs.19500/- per student per year is provided from 2008–09 which includes the honorarium to be paid to the Principal or Experts imparting coaching and also to meet incidental charges. Coverage under the scheme reached to 1053 ST students in the last year of the Eleventh Plan.

Economic Development Programmes: Economic development among the tribals largely depends upon agriculture and its allied activities. Besides, forest resources and minor forest produce contribute substantially to the tribal economy. Since more than one-fifth of the ST population depends on agriculture and forests, their ability to cope with the changing economic scenario, especially in taking advantage of the new economic avenues is minimal. This calls for capacity building in diversifying their livelihood sources. Economic empowerment of the STs is being promoted through implementation of various income and employment generating programmes focusing PVTGs.

National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSTFDC)

National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSTFDC), an apex Organization under the Ministry of Tribal Affairs in 2001 was brought into existence with the sole aim of economic upliftment of the Scheduled Tribes in the country by way of extending concessional financial assistance to the target group under its various schemes. The prominent schemes of NSTFDC are Term Loan, Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana – an exclusive scheme for Scheduled Tribe women, Adivasi Shiksha Rinn Yojana – Education Loan scheme, Micro Credit Scheme for Self Help Groups (SHGs) – comprising Scheduled Tribes as its members, Tribal Forest Dwellers Empowerment Scheme and Teak Growers Scheme. The eleventh plan outlay

under the scheme is `260 crore but no expenditure was made during annual plans of 2007–08 and 2009– 10 and outlay of `70.00 crore has also been allocated for 2011–12 (Government of India, 2013).

Market Development of Tribal Products: Market Development of Tribal Products/ Produce is a Central Sector Scheme under which the Ministry of Tribal Affairs extends Grant-in- Aid to Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (TRIFED) for four main activities: (*i*) Retail Marketing Development Activity; (*ii*) Minor Forest Produce (MFP) Marketing Development Activity; (*iii*) Vocational Training, Skill Up-gradation; and (*iv*) Capacity Building of ST Artisans and MFP; and Research and Development/Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Activity. TRIFED is now functioning both as a service provider and market developer for tribal products. Further, in its role as a capacity builder, it imparts training to ST Artisans and Minor Forest Produce (MFP) gatherers. TRIFED is marketing its products through 39 outlets (26 outlets are its own and 13 outlets are on a consignment basis in association with state-level organisations). During 2007–12, the turnover only through retail marketing activities was Rs.36.96 crore.

Special Component Plan (SCP) and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP)

Special Component Plan (SCP) and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) were initiated by government as intervention strategies during seventies to cater exclusively to Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) respectively. Such plans are meant to ensure benefits to these special groups by guaranteeing funds from all related development sectors both at State and Centre in proportion to the size of their respective population. Government of India also extends Special Central Assistance (SCA) to states and UTs as additive to SCP and TSP. (Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment provides 100% grant under Central Sector Scheme of SCA to SCP as additive to SCP to States/UTs).

The classification of SCP has since been changed to Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) on the lines of TSP. The strategy of SCSP consists in important interventions through planning process for social, educational and economic development of Scheduled Castes and also for improvement in their

working and living conditions. TSP approach envisages integrated development of tribal areas wherein all programmes irrespective of source of funding operate in unison to achieve the goal of bringing (tribal) area at par with rest of the State and improve quality of life of tribals. It is geared towards taking up family oriented income generating schemes, elimination of exploitation, human resource development through education & training and infrastructure development. TSP programmes are financed from (a) TSP funds from State /U.T Plans and Central Ministries/Departments, (b) Special Central Assistance (SCA) to TSP (c) Grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution to States/U.Ts (d) Funds through Central Sector Schemes/ Centrally Sponsored Schemes and (f) Institutional Finance.

Guidelines issued by Planning Commission for formulation, implementation and monitoring of SCP and TSP emphasize, inter-alia, on earmarking funds towards SCP and TSP in proportion to population of SC and ST respectively, creating dedicated unit for proper implementation and separate budget-head/sub-heads for making funds non divertible and approval for plans of Central Ministries/Departments/State Governments being conditional on adherence to implementation of SCP and TSP. Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment and Ministry of Tribal Affairs periodically review and monitor SCP and TSP respectively.

Indian Budget plan Outlay (2013-14) for Welfare of STs: The Central Plan allocation of `1762.00 crore includes provisions for Post Matric Scholarship, Book Bank and upgradation of merit (Rs.750.00 crore), Scheme for Pre-Matric Scholarship for ST students (Rs.212.19 crore), Grants-in-aid to Voluntary Organisations for Scheduled Tribes including Coaching and Allied Schemes and award for Exemplary Services (Rs.60.00 crore), Strengthening of Education among ST girls in low literacy districts (Rs.40.00 crore), Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTG) (Rs.244.00 crore), Grants-in-aid to State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation for Minor Forest Produce (Rs.20.00 crore), Market Development of Tribal Products/Produce (Rs.34.31 crore), Scheme of Hostels for ST Girls and Boys (Rs.125.00 crore), Vocational Training Centers in Tribal Areas (Rs.9.00 crore). Establishment of Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub-Plan Areas (Rs.75.00 crore), Rajiv Gandhi National

Fellowship for ST students (Rs.90.00 crore), Institute of Excellence/Top Class Education (Rs.13.00 crore), National Overseas Scholarship Scheme (Rs.1.00 crore), Support to National/State Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporations (Rs.70.00 crore) and Research Information and Mass Education, Tribal Festivals and Others (Rs.18.50 crore).

1.6. Scheduled Tribes in Karnataka

The ST population in the State has increased from 34,63,986 in 2001 Census to 42,48,987 in 2011, registering a decennial growth rate of 22.66 per cent. The proportion of the Scheduled Tribe population to total population of the State is 6.95 per cent. The highest proportion of Scheduled Tribe population is returned from Raichur District (19.03 per cent) and the least proportion is returned from Mandya District (1.24 per cent). The proportion of Scheduled Tribe population is less than 5 per cent in 12 districts, between 5 to 9 per cent in 7 districts and above 10 per cent in the remaining 11 districts (Census, 2011).

It is a well-accepted fact that access to education, resources and markets is crucial to improving the human development status of people. Improvements in literacy levels have positive spin-off effects, such as better health indicators and an increase in productivity, which can increase the income levels of poor people significantly. The literacy rate of STs in Karnataka is a cause for concern, as it has consistently been lower than that of the total population. The literacy rate among Scheduled Tribes, which was 36.0 per cent in 1991, increased to 48.3 per cent in 2001, while the state average moved up from 56.04 to 66.64 per cent. The gap between the literacy rate of the total population and the ST population is very wide, although there has been a marginal decline of about 1.6 percentage points in the last decade. The decennial literacy rate of the ST population has increased at a faster pace (12.3 per cent) than the rate for the total population (10.6 per cent). The literacy rate of urban STs (64.6 per cent) is higher than the overall literacy rate of STs and compares quite favourably with the state average. The female literacy rate among STs in 1991 was 23.6 per cent and it increased to 36.6 per cent in 2001. While it has increased at a faster pace than the male literacy

rate, the gap between the ST male and female literacy rate declined only marginally, from 24.3 in 1991 to 23.1 in 2001, which is slightly higher than the gap between the male and female literacy rates for the total population (22.92 in 1991 and 19.22 in 2001). The literacy rate for ST women is the lowest in the state in comparison with all women as well as Scheduled Caste women. The literacy rate for rural ST women is a low 33.3 per cent compared with 56.9 per cent for men. Overall, the Scheduled Tribes in the state have markedly lower literacy rates than other groups. However, the literacy status of the STs in Karnataka, which is in marked contrast to the improvements in literacy of other social groups, is a matter of concern and needs further study of their problem to accesses to education and also need for strong policy initiatives from government to push up literacy levels significantly. The literacy rate is the lowest in Raichur (29.01 per cent), followed by Gulbarga (32.40 per cent) and Kodagu (40.37 per cent).While the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes has improved in the decade 1991-2001, they still have a long way to go before they catch up with the rest of the population. The ST literacy rate of scheduled tribes in Karnataka is a cause for concern, as it has consistently been lower than that of the total population.

Low literacy rates are matched by less than satisfactory educational attainments across all levels of primary, secondary and tertiary education. Many schools in tribal areas suffer from high dropout rates. Children either never enroll or attend for the first three to four years of primary school, only to lapse into illiteracy later. Unequal access to schooling is further exacerbated by the fact that ST children stay in school for the least amount of time, as indicated by the mean years of schooling. Scheduled Tribe children have the lowest levels of achievement (4.166 years) compared with SC (4.235 years) and non-SC/ST (4.458 years) children. Not surprisingly, in this context, then, ST children also constitute the highest percentage of out-of-school children (2.42), compared with the state average of 1.54 per cent. The percentage of out-of-school ST girls (2.67) is the highest across all categories. The Sample Survey of ST households conducted by the Department of Economics and Statistics in 2004, which elicited responses from persons in the age group 9–35 years, found that the principal reasons for females

dropping out of school were (i) to work at home and (ii) their parents could not afford to pay for their education. The reasons are identical to the ones adduced to SC girls and indicate that the poor cannot afford the high opportunity costs of education. Enrolment in secondary education is lower than in primary education. This is part of a pattern of attrition, which increases with levels of education and occurs across all social groups. As the Sample Survey (DES, 2004) found, the dropout rate increased with levels of education. In the sample surveyed, there were only 0.18 per cent women graduates and 1.40 per cent male graduates, and only 0.02 per cent ST women were post-graduates.

1.7. Scheduled Tribes in Kodagu District

Kodagu, also known as Coorg is the smallest district in the state of Karnataka. It is a picturesque, hilly district located in southwestern Karnataka, on the Western Ghats of India, and is considered as one of the most beautiful hill stations of Karnataka. It occupies an area of 4,102 square kilometers (1,584 sq. mi) in the Western Ghats and is bordered by Dakshina Kannada district to the northwest, Hassan district to the north, Mysore district to the east, Kannur district of Kerala to the southwest, and Wayanad district of Kerala to the south. Kodagu is considered rich with wildlife and has three wildlife sanctuaries and one national park: the Brahmagiri, Talakaveri, and Pushpagiri Wildlife Sanctuaries, and the Nagarhole National Park, also known as the Rajiv Gandhi National Park.

Kodagu is home to tribes such Yerava, Kudiya, Jenu Kuruba, Kadu Kuruba, and Soliga who are believed to be the original settlers of the area. The majority of the tribal population of the district are either leaving within the forests or in resettled colonies in very interior rural areas. Some of them are still dependent on the forest substantially for their livelihoods. Kodagu also has dispersed settlements of three specific nomadic communities: Golla, Haavaadiga and Hakki-pikki.

As per 2011 census a total of 15433 ST families live in Kodagu district. Most of the ST population in the district is concentrated in the rural areas of

the district. SCs form 13.27% of the population whereas STs form about 10.47% of the district's population. The proportion of SC population is lower in the district when compared to the state and national proportions. However, the proportion of STs is higher in the district, in comparison to the state and national figures. The highest proportion of ST population in the district is found in Virajpet taluk (19.61%). In other taluks, the proportion of ST population is lesser than the state average. The sex-ratio among the SC and ST populations of the district shows a healthy ratio and is higher than the population average sex ratio in the district.

The trends in decadal growth rates among these categories show that ST population grew by 25.89% (the highest growth rate of 31.62% in Virajpet) in the years 2001–2011 whereas the SC population grew by 9.14% (the highest growth rate of 11.80% in Madikeri). There was a 2.79% reduction in the population of Others (the highest reduction of 7.06% in Virajpet) during the same period. These trends have to be taken into cognizance while planning the public health interventions activities,
since there is a wide diversity in health status of various among the different social categories within the district.

The status of tribal communities in the district is a cause of worry, due to low retention rates in primary and secondary education, poor maternal and child health, persistent malnutrition, addiction to alcohol and lack of housing facilities. A major stumbling block for them, is the lack of sustainable livelihoods and marginalization in the involvement of schemes like MGNREGA and job oriented skill development programmes.

1.8. Review of Literature

There is a large and mounting body of literature on the tribals of India. The Governmental and Non-governmental agencies, Anthropologists, Sociologists, historians and economists have studied the tribal problems from various angles using different methodologies. Hence, in this section propose to review the major works on tribal development.

According to the study conducted by P.V. Rao (1974), the socio-economic conditions of Girijans in Andhra Pradesh had improved a lot due to various welfare measures implemented by the Girijan Co-operative Corporation, which is an apex organisation of 30 primary co-operative societies, making a modest beginning in 1956, and becoming operative in 13 districts of the State through 290 domestic requisite depots for the benefit of tribals. Hemchand Jain and A.K. Sarawgi (1981) in their study pointed out the structural and operational changes in farm business of the selected tribal farmers after their utilisation of credit obtained from the co-operatives. The study examined some of the important aspects of farm credit that are having important bearing on the pace of agricultural production in tribal areas. It also investigated the impact of farm loans given by the co-operative organisations on farm income, production and employment of selected tribal farmers.

An attempt was made by both Jain H.C. and Sarawgi A.K. (1982) to analyse the impact of farm credit arranged by Co-operatives as well as commercial banks on farm production, income and employment opportunities of the sample tribal farmers in Madhya Pradesh. This study also explored the significance of tribal development programmes in the context of provision of credit made and the findings are also hopeful to farm financing institutions and planners to understand the credit problems faced by the tribal farmers in the state. Ramamani (1988), presents a descriptive analysis of the main features of tribal economy. She also postulates in this study the gap between the tribals and non-tribals, and the protective and promotional measures in order to reduce this gap.

S.L. Doshi (1990) who has conducted researches on the Bhils of south Rajasthan, argues that in ancient India the tribals did not constitute the core of society. They were always marginalised. Though there are no accounts of their collective identity, it is stated that they practised a pastoral life characterized by animism. They were, by and large, a classless stateless society. Nirmal Sengupta (1990) maintains that the process of rapid industrialisation since independence has added dimension to the problem of

the tribals, as the majority of the tribal concentration in the country are in the areas endowed with rich natural resources. The establishment of resource-based industries in such areas has inevitably led to the displacement of the tribals.

S.R. Bakshi and Kiran Bala (2000) presents the sociol-economic status of several scheduled tribes inhabiting in various regions of our sub-continent. Their life-style, customs and traditions are quite different from the population in our rural and urban areas. In fact 'they live in their own world'. Their social backwardness has been assessed at various levels and schemes have been launched for the education of their children, to provide them health facilities and jobs for their daily needs.

1.9. Statement of the Problem

Certain communities in India have historically remained disadvantaged. Isolated from the main stream, they have long suffered social and economic marginalization. The Scheduled Tribes communities in India are characterized by economic and social marginalization, primitive existence, geographical isolation and educational backwardness. The tribal communities as the most underprivileged people are severely impacted by poverty and its manifestations, such as low levels of literacy and health care, hunger and malnutrition. They suffer social and political marginalization and remain vulnerable to exploitation.

The limited natural resource base surroundings, the tribal societies being scarce and many conflicting demands placed on it from other sectors and other areas of society reduces their availability to the tribal communities and affects their livelihood (Mukherjee, et. all, 2012).

The isolated location and social exclusion of the tribes from the main stream of life is hindering their economic activities. They are not able to participate wholly or partially in social, economic, cultural and political activities in the society. The high level of illiteracy, their ethnic identity and

the rich forest produce tempted the money lenders, small traders and other dominant social groups to exploit the tribes. Further, the absence of monetary system and lack of communication facilities made their work easy to exploit the tribes. The traders in general follow the false measures and weights followed by lower prices. Some times the sub-ordinate staff and other department staff of the forest department take undue advantage of their power by demanding their needs to be at free of cost to enable them to live in the jungle. The agricultural and forest produce of the tribes cannot accesses and command good market, due to lack of proper infrastructure facilities and they do not know the prevailing price. They are forced by the dominant people to sell their agricultural produce for their immediate needs.

1.10. Need and Relevance of the Present Study

Against this background, it is felt the relevance of examining the socio-economic conditions of tribes, in the Kodagu district. The present day tribal situation differs from region to region and tribe to tribe. Their way of life and thinking are considerably influenced as result of various forces of change. A section of tribes become conscious about their rights and are organizing movements. Since tribes are spread throughout the India with their racial differences, region-wise study of tribes assumes importance. Hence, there is need for more and more micro level studies covering different regions of the country to throw light on the efficacy of tribal development programmes in bringing considerable change in the socio- economic status of the tribes.

Quite a number of studies on tribal living conditions brought forth the acute problems faced by the tribes. Low income and high incidence of unemployment, underemployment and high incidence of poverty are the problems. The income from agriculture and manual labour is inadequate, they supplement their income through subsidiary occupations like collection and sale of minor forest produce and fishing.

However, in most of the empirical studies the impact of non economic factors such as ethnicity, tribal identity and social factors on economic

behavior, socio-economic conditions and accesses to resources and markets are not clearly brought out. In the present study an attempt will be made to know the influence of social, ethnicity and tribal identity factors on tribes and their livelihood opportunities. The study proposes to examine interrelationship between socio-cultural, ethnic and economic activities. An attempt will also be made to know the differences in the socio-economic conditions of different tribes. However, there are extremely limited number of empirical studies which actually capture linkages between social exclusion and poverty and deprivation (Sen 2000, Thorat 2003 & 2006).

The important proposition of the study is that the planned development programmes initiated the creation of new agencies such as ITDP etc., and extension of credit through nationalized banks are treated as hopeful signs and anticipated to bring change in their occupational patterns and assets structure, increase the level of employment, income, expenditure and to reduce the extent of poverty and indebtedness among tribes and inclusion of tribes. But, to what extent these are effective in terms of accesses to assets, resources and education for tribes in the kodagu is to be examined. Therefore, the study is proposed address important issues discussed so far with following objectives, hypothesis and methodology.

1.11. Objectives of Study

1. To analyse the status of Scheduled Tribes in India and Karnataka.
2. To review the development programmes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.
3. To examine forms of social exclusion and discriminations of tribes in Kodagu district
4. To assess the employment opportunities and unemployment conditions of Scheduled Tribes.
5. To examine the scheduled tribes access to resources and markets.
6. To examine role of civil society organizations in socio-economic development of scheduled tribes in Kodagu.
7. To examine livelihood sources and income-expenditure relationships.
8. To suggest policy measures to improve the socio-economic conditions of scheduled tribes.

Hypothesis

1. The employment opportunities and income generation of tribes mainly depends tribal development schemes of the government.

2. There is high poverty among tribes due to lack of employment opportunities

3. Discrimination and Exclusion based on tribal identity reduces the accesses to education, assets and markets for tribes.

1.12. Methodological Framework of the Present Study

The methodological section envelops a brief discussion of the study area, sample design, nature and source of data and analytical framework employed in the present study, for addressing the set objectives.

1.12.1. Selection of the study area

The present study was undertaken from Kodagu district of Karnataka for an in-depth analysis. The district is selected based on certain parameters like tribal geographical exclusion, heavy concentration and also of their primitive conditions. The selection of the district was purposive for the following reasons:

1. The district provided an excellent background for the study. The reason for selecting Kodagu, which is one of the many primitive tribes are settled in the district. Tribal communities are isolated from general population and are socially and economically vulnerable. Kodagu is home to tribes such Yerava, Kudiya, Jenu Kuruba, Kadu Kuruba, and Soliga who are believed to be the original settlers of the area.
2. There are 200 tribal colonies in which 15433 tribal families are residing with population of 56298. Jenukuruba, Bettakuruba, Kadukuruba, Kuruba, Yerava, Marata, Meda, Kudiya and Nayakacommunities come under the preview of tribes in Kodagu district (Census 2011).
3. The district is covered by forests and hilly area with accounted 10.5 per cent of ST population in the total. The highest proportion of ST population in the district is found in Virajpet taluk (19.61%). The majority of the tribal

population of the district either reside within the forests or in resettled colonies in very interior rural areas. Some of them are still dependent on the forests for their livelihoods.

In view of the above background, Kodagu district became an ideal choice for exploring various dimensions of social exclusion and livelihoods of ST community in this study.

1.12.2. Sampling Design of the study

For an in-depth study, a multi-stage stratified sampling technique was employed for selection of the sample ST households. The sampling process consisted of three stages viz., at the first stage district, taluka/block were in the second and the sample households have been selected ultimately at the third stage. Kodagu district has three taluks, namely Madikeri, Somwarpet and Virajpet. A preliminary information on ST community with respect to socio-economic variables were collected from the three taluks. Total samples of 400 ST households have been selected with representation of all the taluks.

1.12.3. Sources and Methods of Data Collection

The data for the present study is drawn from both primary and secondary sources to accomplish the set objectives of the research endeavor. The secondary data has been collected from various sources such as reports, books, both published and unpublished research papers and government documents. The other Information will also be collected from the officials, intellectuals, environmentalists and local people in order to understand the problems, to suggest the different type of preventive measures and to document the forms of exclusions. The relevant inputs for this study were gathered from the social welfare department. Land use data, census data and revenue data were collected from the department of agriculture, forest, revenue and other line departments for capturing background information on the socio-economic condition of the STs.

The primary data were collected from the sample ST households using well-designed and pre-tested schedule, canvassed through personal visits and

enquiry with heads of the households. The data collection entailed three parts. The first part comprised the general features of the sample households encompassing demographic particulars such as size and composition of family, occupation, size of landholding, livestock possession, source of family income and the like. The second part related to livelihood options, accessibility of education and employment opportunities, consumption pattern, accessibility of basic needs etc,. The third part deals with health and nutritional status, exclusion pattern, nature of violence against STs etc.

1.12.4. Analytical Framework

The data collected during the period of enquiry, were scrutinized and crosschecked in order to ascertain the socio-economic profile of sample ST households, type of ration card holders, livelihood options, accessibility of basic needs, health and nutritional status, quantity of food grain purchased under PDS, consumption pattern, by sample households, etc. The statistical techniques of frequencies, weighted averages, cross tabs and compound growth rates were used to analyse the data as per the objectives of the study. The graph/charts were also used in the study.

1.13. Chapterization of the Thesis

For analytical convenience, the thesis has been organised into seven chapters. The Chapter-I deals with introduction, demographical features of ST, sincidence of poverty among STs, hunger and malnutrition, conceptual issues of social exclusion, and also objectives, hypotheses and research design. Chapter 2 provides empirical review of literature on livelihoods and Social exclusion of STs. Review the tribal development programme and different dimensions of social exclusion with respect to STs were analysed and presented in the Chapter 3. Salient features of the study area both Karnataka and Kodagu district are presented in Chapter-4. Livelihood options, social exclusion of tribes and accesses to education, assets, markets accessibility of basic needs, health and nutritional status, quantity of food grain purchased under PDS, consumption pattern among sample sample households, etc were

presented in the Chapters 5 and 6. Finally, Chapter-7 provides the summary, conclusions and policy suggestions.

1.14. MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

7.4. IMPORTANT FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

In this chapter the main findings of previous chapters are brought together within the framework of the research questions and the general objective set in the introduction. Further, some policy suggestions of the study are also given in this chapter.

The important findings of the study have been summarized as follows to examine the Social Exclusion in Livelihoods among Scheduled Tribes in accessing land resources, Education facilities, Employment opportunities, Income earnings etc are taken into account and for which primary survey has been conducted. The important findings of household survey are summarized in the following section.

7.4.1. BASED ON SECONDARY DATA

- Out of total ST population in the country, 91.7 per cent were living in rural areas, whereas, only 8.3 per cent from urban areas. STs have traditionally been concentrated in about 15 per cent of the country's geographical areas, mainly forests, hills, undulating inaccessible areas.

- According to Census 2011, 40.6 per cent of STs live in good condition houses compared to 53.1 per cent of that of the all social groups. The data shows that at the All India level only 46.9 per cent of all households out of which 22.6 per cent of ST households have latrine facility within the premises.

- As per NFHS-3 estimates, the under-five mortality rate and the child Mortality rate are much higher for STs than any other social group/ castes at all childhood ages (95.7 and 35.8 respectively). However, it is found that STs have a lower infant mortality rate (62.1) than SCs (66.4)

but higher than total (57). Even the pre-natal mortality rate for STs (40.6) is lower than other social group/ castes.

- Based on the statistics of Planning Commission, it was observed that ST people living below poverty line in 2004-05 were 47.2 per cent in rural areas, and 33.3 per cent in urban areas respectively.

- Secondary analysis reveals that the share of ST population in urban areas of Kodagu is a meager 2.17 per cent and rural areas are around 12 per cent. ST population was found to be lower in Madikeri and Somvarpet taluks of Kodagu district and it is marginally higher in Virajpet taluk. It is found that the degree of urbanization was low in STs compared to SCs and others in the sample taluks as well as in the district. It is evident that STs are marginalized in the sample taluks and are economically disadvantaged in the society.

- The secondary data shows the share of marginal landholding is more among SCs and STs compared to Others in all the taluks of Kodagu district. In the case of large size landholding there is no large farmers among SCs and STs in all the taluks. However, the average size of landholdings among STs found to be less than one hectares.

7.4.2. BASED ON PRIMARY DATA

Access to Land Resource: Social exclusion in accessing land resources, the data indicate that access to land resources is lower in the case of Scheduled tribes. The landlessness was reported higher in the in the case of Jenu Kurubas compared to other sub castes. It can be noted that the share of small and medium size of land holdings is very low and there are no large size farmers in the sample households.

Access to Education facilities: Social exclusion in accessing education is estimated to be higher in Scheduled Tribes. The rate of illiteracy is higher and people are deprived of education facilities. The extent of social exclusion in terms of illiteracy was high in working population. Across the sub caste is concerned the data show that social exclusion in accessing education was high in the case of Jenu Kuruba compared to other sub castes.

Access to Employment opportunities: Social exclusion in the case of employment the data show that most of the sample households are involved in casual labour in plantation. It is evident from the data that the participation of workers in other activities like petty business, salaried employment etc was very low among sample households. Across the sub caste data indicate that majority of Jenukurubas involved in plantation work. It can be seen from the data that majority of female workers are engaged in plantation work.

Income Earning Levels: As far as income is concerned the data indicate that the average income per household was estimated to be low among sample households. Going by the sub caste, the average household income was estimated to be quite lower for Others households as compared to that of Jenu Kuruba, Kudiya and Yarava households.

Household Consumption Pattern Of Tribal Households: Regarding consumption expenditure is concerned it is evident from the data that average expenditure on Personal care is higher followed by Social Religious Function and Festivals, Repair and maintenance of house. As far as PDS is concerned data shows that people are still depending on open market for purchase of food items.

Basic facilities and Household amenities: As far as the access to basic facilities is concerned, the data indicate the accessibility of better housing condition, access to electricity, sanitation safe drinking water was reported to be much lower in the case of tribals. It can be noted that social exclusion will have adverse impact on the future poverty and also the current access to basic needs of their life.

The proportion of households living in RCC houses is very low. It indicates that social exclusion is higher in terms of housing status among STs.

It is observed that among sub caste the social exclusion is higher in the case of JenuKuruba.

Across the sub caste the proportion of households living in one or two rooms is higher in the case of Jenu Kuruba followed by Kudiya, Yarava and Others. Data shows that Social exclusion in terms of ownership is higher among Jenu Kuruba compared other sub castes.

There is no bath room facility for most of the sample households. Large share of the households have separate bath room outside the house constructed with either plastic paper or covered with walls made out of leaves. It is important to note that the percentage of households having bath rooms inside the house is very small.

It is observed that still 31.50 per cent of HHs have no electricity facility. It can be noted that there is no private connection for water. This indicates that their economic backwardness and inaccessibility. This situation was quite explicit in the tribals. This is directly related to the income earnings as well as the governance.

7.5. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The important policy suggestions/ways forward to combat the problem of social exclusion in Livelihoods of Scheduled Tribes have identified as follows.

- As the landlessness and the share of land to ST population is very low the land reform measures must be given importance. That is to say, every household need to have some minimum land to derive minimum needs of life. Ceiling on landholdings must be imposed further and thus surplus land has to be redistributed to landless ST households.

- Education is main criteria to address the problem of social exclusion in different forms. Education facilities should be increased and education centres should be closer to their localities.

- Education status was low among Scheduled Tribes due to lack of sufficient income and limited availability of livelihood sources. Awareness among the parents about the importance of education, benefits of education, schemes relating to education have to be provided through government intervention.

- In order to eradicate poverty of STs special effort must be taken by giving capacity building to ST population, by providing sufficient training programmes through line departments and NGOs.

- Majority of ST population depend on casual labour in plantation. Income from this is not enough to maintain standard of living. Adequate credit from government and training support to be provided to encourage Scheduled Tribe population to take up business. This will create more employment opportunities in rural area and reduce the dependency on plantation work.

- The average income of Scheduled Tribes is very low. Hence the standard of living is quite lower in the case of STs especially Jenu Kurubas. Poverty alleviation programmes and social security schemes have to be implemented properly.

- Tribal development schemes of the government should be implemented, and should reach properly to ST population in order to create employment opportunities and income generation of tribes.

- The social, economic and educational deprivation of tribes in Kodagu district is a common and unifying characteristic. A large number of tribal population in rural areas of India is still dependent on forests for their livelihood, and therefore provisions for basic necessities like food, fuel, housing material, etc. are made from the forest produce in this forest based tribal economy. The government should take measures for access productive resources among tribal community. Material inputs and financial aid should be provided to help them continue to their traditional jobs, who are still engaged in the traditional occupation.

- To encourage the members of STs to take up some non-farm activities and income generating activities, which are needed in rural areas, adequate credit from banks and training to take up income generating activities should be provided, and hence there will be more employment opportunities and more income earnings compared to casual labour in plantation.

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